

521 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally.
562 They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the
571 same time about topics which they would also discuss at an
576 ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

Forms of Social Intercourse Between the Sexes

571 The forms of social intercourse between men and women
673 are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized
834 by saying that every contact between them is prohibited.
● Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a
word exchanged between them. Being together in the same
room or even an accidental encounter without the presence
of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The in-
tention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such
instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation;
if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden
contact actually existed.

[561] These strict rules do not apply to children and older
[858] people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls

1. To be specific: individuals
of under ten to twelve years
and above thirty-five to forty
years of age.

and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only
a great number of years after marriage has been contracted.
Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing
rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by
such a transgression.

[687] This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small
dagger/, which frequently results in death.

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction
must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

521 It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
626 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
834 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved.
People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word
former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:

Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

571 Young women and men often evade each other
626 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
834 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware
of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is
momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been
inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and
the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the
house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse.
In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people
even this opportunity to talk about them.

177 Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
834 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming
new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying
parents take care that they are seated on each side with
the girls between them. At the construction of a new
swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of
course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built
separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

177 /147 cont./ store, the Arab and Chinese storekeepers in
834 Macassar know that they cannot turn directly to the young
girls to recommend their wares but that, for this purpose,
they have to address the escorting man or older woman,
while the younger ones talk among each other and thus make
their wishes known. One who does not take these feelings
into account runs the risk of being passed over at a subsequent
visit to the store.

571 The separate domains of the sexes in the house and the
834 division of labor contribute to the fact that the prohibition
against contact is carried out to a great extent in daily life.
The strict sanction imposed on their violation lends a forced
[626] character to the relations between young men and girls.
Contact may only take place in complete secrecy or, by way
of exception, if it is expressly or silently permitted. In that
case it is still tied to special regulations. There is never any
uninhibited association. Some of these occasions will be
described here.

527 After harvest, so-called pounding festivals (1) are
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1. Called Adengka ase
lolo, "the pounding of
the young paddy."

[374] regularly held. These take place during the evening in the
yard before the house by the /148/ glimmer of an oil lamp,
preferably when there is a bright moon shining. For this,
the pounding block is hung up in rattan strings, and while
[533] the girls pound, two or three of their closest male relatives
[534] beat with sticks against the transverse axle of the block in
a rapid and powerful rhythm. This sound is audible at great
distances; the purpose is to attract young people from far
and near to come and look. What they see is four girls

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

243 Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
462 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
571 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
834 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly
warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension
arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turn-
ing the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can
easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young
girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns
from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused
by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so
doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he
does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then
place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-
aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the
other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but
in between times younger women may also help. A young
man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least
he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her,
at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

571 /149 cont./ middle age come into consideration, for even
834 older men are suspect if they talk with a young girl. Nor
857 can a young man speak inconspicuously with a married
887 woman of around thirty or with a girl of ten.

584 Little boys will carry short messages, but by doing this
602 they at best keep existing contact going. The older women
who act as intermediary (anrong, "little mother") are in a
position to promote marriages desired by them by assisting in
the establishment of secret contacts. This is never done by
the girl's own mother; an aunt or great-aunt is the suitable
person for this.

Everyone trusts her, convinced that she has the best
intentions for her niece, and therefore she can always talk
with her without arousing suspicion. She is able to draw
the girl's attention to a certain young man, for instance by
calling him and giving him errands to run. She tells the girl
that his /150/ parents had wanted to make a request on his
behalf (ampasuroi) but that he had refused this, and she adds
to this that perhaps he already has someone in mind (nia'
tjini'na). Perhaps as a result of few opportunities for free
companionship, it seems to take very little to make a
Makassarese girl believe that a young man is enamored of her.

571 Contact is prohibited but nevertheless occurs. This is
834 proved by the regularly recurring cases of an unmarried
848 pregnant woman who seeks asylum with the village functionary,
583 as well as by a number -- though not all -- of silariang
cases. But not each secret contact necessarily has such an
ending. In the very first instance, the decision lies with
583 the girl. When an older woman communicates the feelings
584 of a certain young man to her and at the same time hints
at the possibility of a flight, then, if she would like to marry
him her answer is that she feels sorry for her mother because
she is the only one in the house or just that she does not want
to leave her mother and sisters because she still has so many
little brothers and sisters. She says to the older woman:

583 /150 cont./ "Please find what is good for me." And by
584 "good" (badjika) is meant a normal marriage; "bad" (kodia)
means marriage by flight. The older woman thereupon
tries out the mother. Whether this couple will subsequently
marry or not then further depends upon whether or not an
agreement concerning marriage has been made with respect
to one of the two.

584 When a marriage which she herself has desired comes
834 about, the girl shows aversion to the man, as is expected of
her. Externally, nothing distinguishes this marriage from
one that has been contracted against her wishes.

583 When older people act against the wishes of the younger,
584 and the young man urges a flight, the girl can consent to
558 this. But if she refuses, he can get his way simply by
626 making her siri'. In most cases the threat of siri' alone
seems sufficient.

584 One who is unable to use an older woman as intermediary
must find another way of establishing the desired contact
with a girl. He may, for instance, seek out the company of
her brother. He plays raga with him and goes with him to
the movies (this example is derived from one of the kampongs
[574] surrounding Macassar). In return /151/ his friend may ask
him to stay and eat or sleep. If he keeps this up long
enough, he may get an opportunity to attract the girl's
attention, that is to say, to perform a service for the mother
or run an errand for her, even though this reaches him
through a third person.

His intentions do not remain entirely concealed. If her
mother likes him, if no arrangements have been made regarding
this daughter, and if the information gained concerning his
kin group is not unfavorable, she may very briefly let her
daughter be alone with him unnoticed. But she remains
watchful. "Don't make me siri'," she says to her daughter.

584 When they are alone together, there is no immediate con-
834 versation, even less is there an immediate physical contact.

584 /151 cont./ But an atmosphere of intimacy is created precisely because it is forbidden and dangerous. The desire to get married seems to be strengthened by it.

584 The examples described are a number of ways in which young people try to bring about a marriage with a marriage partner chosen by themselves by means of forbidden contacts.

Personality Norms

157 Norms for the personality of men are different from those for women.

562 A man must be combative and courageous, always ready to challenge someone or to answer a challenge. He must be skillful in debate and a good teller of tall tales. In these stories the emphasis must always be placed on the fact that he, his group, or his prince, did something better than another group or a neighboring prince. In these stories he must also have great success with women and be capable of great sexual achievements. One likes to compare a man to a cock, proud and always ready to do battle. A man is sometimes conceived of as rough. He is always wandering.

562 Man is devoted to woman; he praises her in vague, idealizing terms.

539 Nampa' ri udjung Borinu,

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riappa pa'rasangannu

nanailalang

sumangakku, makkaraeng

When I had come to the farthest point of your land,

to the remotest point of your land,

then my soul was already in you,

worshipping you.

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/152/ The woman must be delicate and tender, shy and withdrawn. She is more devoted to herself. She tries, but as passively as possible, to draw his attention to herself.

157 /152 cont. /

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku

539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku

Natjiniku ianu

Nadjandjangku mole mole.

My implanted, straight
flowers,

My blooming tjampaga
flowers.

When N. N. sees me

He will not be able to turn
his eyes away from me.

• 834 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that
157 a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems
to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

157 The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in
182 men are at the same time those which they need for success in
striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.

554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the
qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences
their position in the community. Those who possess these
qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve
standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men,
women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

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1. Dutch influence is
observable in the Indonesian
term which is occasionally
used by modern Makassarese:
"seorang het, " / "an 'it'
person." -- Ed. /.

/179 cont./

Steaming

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[801] Steaming (barumbung) is a ritual which prepares bride and groom for their future union. At that time they are still each in his own house. Under the house a pot with water is placed on the fire, and seven different kinds of leaves are placed in it. The steam is conducted upward through a hollow bamboo pipe toward a hole in the floor in the hindmost part of the house. The bride (or the bridegroom) is seated above this hole, completely wrapped in a sarong. The bride's mother scatters puffed rice over her and moves the incense vessel around her, three times one way and once the other. While doing so, she mumbles a spell. When the bride has sat in this way for some time and has perspired profusely, she is bathed. This is repeated for three days on end. It is believed that in this way even the evil that is deep within her will come out with the sweat so that only the good will remain. It is hoped that thus she will be able to face the coming period of uncertainty in the best possible condition.

Plucking the Eyebrows

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The plucking of eyebrows (bubu') is likewise done before the couple is brought together. On this occasion the bride's mother removes the hairs which would make the eyebrow "not good." It is believed that a person's character is revealed in his glance, and also by the features around his eye. In view of the fact that even an exchange of words between young men and women is prohibited, the casting of glances is practically the only thing that can be done with impunity. The slight arching of an eyebrow and lowering of the eyelids have their significance. To be greedy of eye (balala matana) is regarded as an inferior quality of a young man. In this ritual the importance of the eye and the play of the eyes accordingly finds

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585 /196 cont./ ordinary life. In reality, however, they all
833 hope that bridegroom and bride will be "good" with each other
as soon as possible, that is to say, that coitus will take place.
The old women listen at the walls.

[626] If the young man expressly refuses to enter and join his
wife, the older people rest satisfied, at least for the time being.
But they show their disapproval and renew, possibly even the
following evening, their attempts to make him go in. The
same situation obtains if the bride resists once the bridegroom
has been led in to her. If she knocks violently on the door,
she is let out.

585 The older people talk to the marriage partner who seems
833 to refuse sexual contact with the other. They point out that in
626 previous marriages young married couples again and again
submitted to what is now demanded of him (her). The bride
is told in such a case that all women have at one time under-
gone this experience, that her mother was also married in this
way. The end of the conversation frequently consists of the
questions so difficult for younger people to answer: "Surely
you don't want to make your aunt (that is, the speaker) ashamed?"
(namely, by sticking to the refusal /197/ and thus causing
to fail the marriage that she is trying to bring about). To
[888] contradict an older and sometimes at the same time a higher
576] person is discourteous. The individual who does not wish to
capitulate in such a situation can do nothing but remain silent.

● 834 Because of the strictly maintained separation of the sexes,
young unmarried men and women live in separate worlds.
585 When they are brought together, it is to be expected that it
521 will be difficult for them to talk to each other. Whatever
they have learned and applied up to that point is no longer of
any use. The prepared questions and answers thus serve, one
could say, to facilitate the very first contact. Formally,
they are an element of the ritual to bring man and wife to-
gether and to get them used to the fact that now other forms
of social intercourse obtain between them than before. In

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585 /197 cont./ content, they have the purpose of teaching the
521 parties the attitude which they must adopt toward each other.

834 If one compares the crying, passive Makassarese bride
585 who clearly demonstrates her aversion to her husband, with
186 the happy, beaming Dutch bride who looks up to her bride-
groom with full confidence, it is clear that every opportunity
for misunderstandings is present. Then the criticism of an old
Makassarese who had attended the wedding reception of a
Dutch couple and had seen how man and wife finally were
driven off together in a car amidst the cheers of the reception
guests becomes comprehensible. In all these expressions on
the part of the woman, he merely saw a display of her feelings
of desire for her husband, and he found this quite indecent.

The fact of their leaving together signified to him that
there was nothing more to prevent this man from giving in to
his sexual desires. From the bride's conduct it seemed to him
all too clear that the bridegroom would not have to make any
effort to gain the bride for himself. The effort, tact, and
considerateness displayed on this occasion are, to the
Makassarese, the essence of the relationship between man
and wife. Based on what he observed, this old man could
only conclude that what was most important for him, was
lacking among the Dutch.

177 Now the difficulties which arose at /198/ the marriage of
585 a young Makassarese man of high nobility to a girl from one
of the prominent Makassarese Indo-European families also
become understandable. In her house the atmosphere, dress,
and so forth was to be European, and in his house it was to be
Makassarese. This had been agreed upon beforehand by both
families. In her house, therefore, the bridegroom was dressed
in a tuxedo, and she was dressed in white with a short train.
He was the gay, energetic bridegroom, and she the radiant

684/221 cont. / affair is herewith ended and that neither man
695 nor woman may be subjected to any more difficulties. In
practice, however, the man, at least initially, does not show
his face in a kampong where many of the woman's kinsmen
reside. For safety's sake he does not do so until, for instance,
she is married to another man, and feelings with regard to him
have quieted down somewhat.

626 The feelings with respect to the woman who has been
684 taken back home by her own kin group have not yet completely
calmed down either. She has committed a mistake which lies
more in the area of the salimara' than that of silariang. She
is familiar with the danger connected with it and therefore
takes care to conduct herself as inconspicuously as possible, so
that her male kinsmen will be reminded as little as possible
of her existence. In the few cases that such a separation took
place, the woman was practically always married off shortly
thereafter. In a single case where this did not happen, she
588 fled three years later with another man likewise lower. This
time the wali nonetheless had to give his consent for the
marriage under pressure from the imam, who pointed out that
he had taken poor care of this woman's siri' by not finding a
man for her.

684 As a reason for having fled with a man, a girl sometimes
states that he forced her to do so and that he threatened to
834 kill her if she did not go with him. The jurist who /222/
would accept "forcible abduction," in all such cases would
make a mistake. It could not be expected of a girl to confess,
even as a sworn witness before the judge, that she went with
her "abductor" of her own volition. This would be a sign that
she desired him, and this cannot be expected from any woman
who is brought up in the idea that the display of this desire
(lale) is greatly reprehensible (1).

1. In such a case one might consider not swearing in the abducted woman, of whom it

684 /222 cont. / cannot be expected that
834 she would speak the truth
on this point.

Nor does a man need to use force if he wants to coerce a woman to flee with him. By making her siri', he leaves her no choice. It would then be too dangerous for her to remain at home. Her brother would be able to do little else than stab her. Occasionally a man may purposely make a woman siri' and thereby force her to flee with him because he wants to marry her while she does not desire him for a husband. But [626] more frequently the reason is that his kinsmen desired this union, and their request for it was turned down. For the young man, a remark such as: "Why are we refused?" is then tantamount to a command to respond to the insult of such a refusal. And he can do this in no better way than by forcing a flight.

177 Under modern circumstances in Macassar, conditions are
834 frequently somewhat different. If girls continue to attend school after they have become marriageable, their contact with young men is quite different from those under the conditions previously described. In such a situation her fear of contact with a young man is less, because now there are subjects about which she can talk to him without danger. At the same time the attitude of the young men changes. They no longer regard themselves as siri' if their sister talks to one of their school friends.

177 It is possible that the number of silariang marriages in this
588 younger generation is larger than in the country because, on the one hand, the opportunity for the young people to carry out their own choice against that of their parents is much greater, and, on the other hand, the danger of being stabbed in these circles is decreasing rather /223/ than increasing. Figures are not available. At the same time there are arguments which explain why the number is not much larger

177 /223 cont./ already. This is connected with the fact that
588 silariang is regarded as bad (kodi) and a festive wedding as
good (badji). A young man who likes a girl may ask her
whether she wants to flee, but he will immediately accept
her refusal when she says that she does not want to make her
mother unhappy, or that she does not want to do "the bad,"
that is to say, silariang.

177 A modern young woman who associated very freely with
588 young men -- she went alone to run errands in the toko /stores/
• 834 and conversed with her male colleagues in the normal school
[626] when she met them on the street -- met with considerable
criticism from her aunts and older sisters. They called her
a street broom and assured her repeatedly that she would
come to an evil end. She received many requests to flee,
and most of these were made not so much through a lust for
adventure, but rather as a consequence of the fact that many
young Makassarese men from a good house find it pleasant to
marry a modern young woman who can get along in company.
Silariang was therefore a means for them to carry out their
wishes against those of their parents. But this young woman
steadfastly refused; "I want to show that I can be modern in
a good way" (eroki kupappatjinikang kamoderenganku),
she would say, and the young men would be content with that.
She indicated that prohibited contact in and by itself did not
need to have bad consequences in the form of a marriage by
flight.

Erangkale

588 One speaks of "silariang" when a man and woman flee
684 together, and of "erangkale" (literally, "to bring one's self")
when the woman runs away from home alone to the man who
has made her siri'. Reasons for these two forms of silariang
are not different either in principle or in consequences.
Frequently, it depends upon an accident whether a woman

694 /224 cont./ here used in the sense of "make little verbal jokes"), but he refused to go with her. At the request of her father she was then returned to her kin group by authority of the judge. "We have enough kinsmen who can marry her," was the explanation for this request, and so it happened. In these two instances, the determined attitude of the man was accepted, while at the same time he was not regarded as tumannjala. The explanation for this may be the character /225/ of the girl, who in both cases was known not to possess the modesty and timidity which girls really should have.

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684 A number of times a woman fled to a stranger in the belief that he made her siri', while in his own mind he had done something quite ordinary. Thus, a Christian Sangirese who was appointed as foreman over a number of Makassarese turned in public to the sister of one of them to ask where her brother was. A few days later she fled to him. After having been instructed by friends, he reacted according to Makassarese expectations. He paid the sunrang and the fine and behaved as befits a good tumannjala until the reconciliation had taken place according to Makassarese custom. Only the Moslem marriage ceremony did not take place.

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609 When an Indochinese in such a situation refused to marry, the imam took the girl back to her kin group. The latter regarded neither him nor her as tumannjala. "He does not know our adat," they said, and that was a sufficient explanation for them.

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684 There are countless reasons which make a woman siri' and lead her to take refuge with a certain man. In each case forbidden contact with this man can be demonstrated. Frequently this contact is accidental. The girl who was addressed by the Sangirese just mentioned was at that moment engaged in drawing water. She did not answer, which was perfectly natural from the Makassarese point of view, but her father had observed the situation and said: "I sent you to the well to

684 /225 cont./ get water and not to talk." In another case a
834 girl was washing at the well when a ball with which a group
of young men were playing raga rolled close to her. She
gave the ball a little kick, and the young man who came to
get it laughed to her. A few days later she fled to him.
Another case concerned a girl who, during one of the cere-
monies preceding her wedding, broke wind. One of her
cousins immediately took the blame for it: "Don't laugh,
people, it slipped out of me," he said. A few days later,
the nikka' had already taken place; she fled to him. As it
turned out later, she did so at the urging of her aunt: "Go
off, do what your siri' demands" (lampako, dongkoki siri'nu),
the latter is supposed to have said. Subsequently, she
married this man.

/226/ In none of these instances was the woman there-
fore in any direct danger. In all three of them her action
[672] was completely understood, and her kin group was "not very
siri'," that is to say, the reconciliation took place within
half a year. Rather than remaining siri' and running the risk
of being stabbed, these women resorted to flight. Rather
than refusing to go with her and not being believed and thus
being regarded as one who flees before a woman, the men
married. The wife's kinsmen were siri' because she fled and
thereby openly admitted that forbidden contact existed. But
there certainly was understanding of her action and the feel-
ings that led her to it. In the last of these three cases just
described, the deserted bridegroom was also without feelings
of rancor toward the second husband. He regarded the course
of events as part of his lot. When etiquette had been satisfied
[152] through reconciliation, there was no apparent trace of personal
feelings of anger in him.

554/241 cont. / to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the success-
ful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately,
and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely de-
612 limited group and that the standing of relatives among each
684 other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be
684 found -- with one single exception: the karaeng and the
[562] people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's
position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close
female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few
institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A
[762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide
does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution
for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked
him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case
one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further
to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities
for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an ex-
ample of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each
other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess.
Only together do they form a whole.

● 834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman
are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist
between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from
the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact
situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful
enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear
to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them
on the basis of their sex.

159 are plenty of people in his house including the two very pretty young girls who do the fine weaving. Saleh said that they both had learned gold work too, and that during a rush they are able to help him and his cousin helper. When there is not so much rush, they weave. The old man said he was also a carpenter in the old days, and pointed out the houses he had built in the leprosarium. He said he was born in Laikang, where there is much salt making from sea water.

774 Saleh uses the word dewata for spirit in the animistic sense, and also understands the term sumangat.

000 Most of the day was spent in looking around. Tomorrow I will go through my notes for questions and further discussion.

871 Balombaru, September 2, 1949: This third day I thought I would go through my notes, but I got sidetracked onto

157 Saleh's answers to the schedule. This is all right, al-

326 though the going is very slow. One thing is very dramatic.

159 Saleh told me about his personal tragedy as far as education is concerned. He said that he wanted to go to normal school, but that the fee was f.65. Neither he nor his father could afford this. They tried to sell portions of their rice fields, but times were bad then and there were no buyers. Saleh said that he then went to the teacher (I gather it was the superintendent) of the normal school and asked why he must pay f.65. The answer was that that was the price of board and room. At this Saleh offered to bring a mat and sleep on the floor and to get his own food. However, the superintendent said no. As Saleh told me the story, much affect could be noted. And he added that plenty of other boys have had the same trouble. He is truly an ambitious man and would have justified any help given him. He said that he had trained lots of young goldsmiths and that they were now scattered all over. He said that he had trained so many that often one found villages around here where there were formerly no goldsmiths at all and which now consisted of a good number of goldsmiths.

[535] One thing before the schedule: I talked about the dancing girls. They told me that the Makassarese are very strict

584 regarding all girls. One might not approach a girl directly

834 but only through relatives and always in a respectable fashion. In regard to the go-between in marriage, they said that many of the girls in school today are scorning the old practice. However, an old man, cackling, said that the padjoge in the Buginese country were different. He said

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to him.

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Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing. The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration. He followed this, and gave information only on people from outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans.

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Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such class designations as bangsa hamba[slaves] and others as turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The commoners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50 per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone. With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen]. They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is Rahim's.

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Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell plenty in order to send him to school.

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Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stopped, and this is so throughout Europe.) As slavery went the wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the decline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census. As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to

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848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times
they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to
the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus
I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line,
and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a
lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was
probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all
on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not
present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At
the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and
his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They
said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman
of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from
former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-com-
mittal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also
said that they no longer have the custom of using money to
get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do
defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple
is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part
of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They
still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest
official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger
tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--
Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thou-
sands come from all over to visit these places. Every day
the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it
was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery
with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of
old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic,
mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In
addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
584 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
883 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army
181 post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen to-
gether. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that
even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare
at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any re-
sistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quali-
ty of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together.
There is no dancing together. There are no pantun con-
tests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though
possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in pri-
vate. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might
be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such

836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely,
562 there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal,
and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry
her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not
virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may
get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is empha-
sized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There
are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?)
in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's
house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house,
then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the
man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of
matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with
Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tenden-
cy toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The
man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs
to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although
all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not
leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They
said that they go to other places and often lie about their past